

circumstanced as I was, I ought to confine myself to obeying the Queen's orders. I frequently sent off couriers to foreign countries, and they were never discovered, so many precautions did I take. I am indebted for the preservation of my own existence to the care I took never to admit any deputy to my abode, and to refuse all interviews which even people of the highest importance often requested of me; but this line of conduct exposed me to every species of ill-will, and on the same day I saw myself denounced by Prud'homme, in his *Gazette Révolutionnaire*, as capable of making an aristocrat of the mother of the Gracchi, if a person so dangerous as myself could have got into her household; and by Gauthier's *Gazette Royaliste*, as a *monarchist*, a *constitutionalist*, more dangerous to the Queen's interests than a Jacobin.

At this period an event with which I had nothing to do placed me in a still more critical situation. My brother, M. Genet, began his diplomatic career successfully. At eighteen he was attached to the embassy to Vienna; at twenty he was appointed chief secretary of Legation in England, on occasion of the peace of 1783. A memorial which he presented to M. de Vergennes upon the dangers of the treaty of commerce then entered into with England gave offence to M. de Calonne, a patron of that treaty, and particularly to M. Gérard de Rayneval, chief clerk for foreign affairs. So long as M. de Vergennes lived, having upon my father's death declared himself the protector of my brother, he

supported him against the enemies his memorial had raised up. But on his death M. de Montmorin, being much in need of the long experience in business which he found in M. de Rayneval, was guided solely by the latter. The office of which my brother was the head was suppressed. He then went to St. Petersburg, strongly recommended to the Comte de Ségur, minister from France to that Court, who appointed him secretary of Legation. Some time afterwards the Comte de Ségur left him at St. Petersburg, charged with the affairs of France.<sup>1</sup>

When my brother quitted Versailles he was much hurt at being deprived of a considerable income for having penned a memorial which his zeal alone had dictated, and the importance of which was afterwards but too well understood. I perceived from his correspondence that he inclined to some of the new notions. He told me it was right he should no longer conceal from me that he sided with the constitutional party; that the King had in fact commanded it, having himself accepted the constitution; that he would proceed firmly in that course, because in this case disingenuousness would be fatal, and that he took that side of the question because

---

<sup>1</sup> After his return from Russia M. Genet was appointed ambassador to the United States by the party called Girondists, the deputies who headed it being from the department of the Gironde. He was recalled by the Robespierre party, which overthrew the former faction, on the 31st of May 1793, and condemned to appear before the Convention. Vice-President Clinton, at that time Governor of New York, offered him an asylum in his house and the hand of his daughter, and M. Genet established himself prosperously in America.—*Madame Campan.*

he had had it proved to him that the foreign powers would not serve the King's cause without advancing pretensions prompted by long-standing interests, which always would influence their councils; that he saw no salvation for the King and Queen but from within France, and that he would serve the constitutional King as he served him before the Revolution. And lastly, he requested me to impart to the Queen the real sentiments of one of his Majesty's agents at a foreign Court. I immediately went to the Queen and gave her my brother's letter, she read it attentively, and said, "This is the letter of a young man led astray by discontent and ambition; I know you do not think as he does; do not fear that you will lose the confidence of the King and myself." I offered to discontinue all correspondence with my brother; she opposed that, saying it would be dangerous. I then entreated she would permit me in future to show her my own and my brother's letters, to which she consented. I wrote warmly to my brother against the course he had adopted. I sent my letters by sure channels; he answered me by the post, and no longer touched upon anything but family affairs. Once only he informed me that if I should write to him respecting the affairs of the day he would give me no answer. "Serve your august mistress with the unbounded devotion which is due from you," said he, "and let us each do our duty. I will only observe to you that at Paris the fogs of the Seine often prevent people from seeing that immense capital, even from

the Pavilion of Flora, and I see it more clearly from St. Petersburg." The Queen said, as she read this letter, "Perhaps he speaks but too truly; who can decide upon so disastrous a position as ours has become?"

The day on which I gave the Queen my brother's first letter to read she had several audiences to give to ladies and other persons belonging to the Court, who came on purpose to inform her that my brother was an avowed constitutional and revolutionist. The Queen replied, "I know it; Madame Campan has been to tell me so." Persons jealous of my situation having subjected me to mortifications, and these unpleasant circumstances recurring daily, I requested the Queen's permission to withdraw from Court. She exclaimed against the very idea, represented it to me as extremely dangerous for my own reputation, and had the kindness to add that, for my sake as well as for her own, she never would consent to it. After this conversation I retired to my apartment. A few minutes later a footman brought me this note from the Queen:—"I have never ceased to give you and yours proofs of my attachment; I wish to tell you in writing that I have full faith in your honour and fidelity, as well as in your other good qualities; and that I ever rely on the zeal and address you exert to serve me."<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> I had just received this letter from the Queen when M. de la Chapelle, commissary general of the King's household, and head of the offices of M. de Laporte, minister of the civil list,





Revue des Arts

# LE CHÂTEAU DU GRAND TRIANON.

Paris Richard Bentley and Son. 1864

At the moment that I was going to express my gratitude to the Queen I heard a tapping at the door of my room, which opened upon the Queen's inner corridor; I opened it: it was the King. I was confused; he perceived it, and said to me kindly, "I alarm you, Madame Campan; I come, however, to comfort you; the Queen has told me how much she is hurt at the injustice of several persons towards you. But how is it that you complain of injustice and calumny when you see that we are victims of them? In some of your companions it is jealousy; in the people belonging to the Court it is anxiety. Our situation is so disastrous, and we

came to see me. The Palace having been already forced by the brigands on the 20th of June 1792, he proposed that I should entrust the paper to him, that he might place it in a safer situation than the apartments of the Queen. When he returned into his offices he placed the letter she had condescended to write to me behind a large picture in his closet; but on the 10th of August M. de la Chapelle was thrown into the prisons of the Abbaye, and the committee of public safety established themselves in his offices, whence they issued all their decrees of death. There it was that a villanous servant belonging to M. de Laporte went to declare that in the minister's apartment, under a board in the floor, a number of papers would be found. They were brought forth, and M. de Laporte was sent to the scaffold, where he suffered *for having betrayed the State by serving his master and sovereign*. M. de la Chapelle was saved, as if by a miracle, from the massacres of the 2d of September. The committee of public safety having removed to the King's apartments at the Tuileries, M. de la Chapelle had permission to return to his closet to take away some property belonging to him. Turning round the picture, behind which he had hidden the Queen's letter, he found it in the place into which he had slipped it, and, delighted to see that I was safe from the ill consequences the discovery of this paper might have brought upon me, he burnt it instantly. In times of danger a mere nothing may save life or destroy it.—*Madame Campan.*

have met with so much ingratitude and treachery, that the apprehensions of those who love us are excusable! I could quiet them by telling them all the secret services you perform for us daily; but I will not do it. Out of good-will to you they would repeat all I should say, and you would be lost with the Assembly. It is much better, both for you and for us, that you should be thought a constitutional. It has been mentioned to me a hundred times already; I have never contradicted it; but I come to give you my word that if we are fortunate enough to see an end of all this, I will, at the Queen's residence, and in the presence of my brothers, relate the important services you have rendered us, and I will recompense you and your son for them." I threw myself at the King's feet and kissed his hand. He raised me up, saying, "Come, come, do not grieve; the Queen, who loves you, confides in you as I do."

Down to the day of the acceptance it was impossible to introduce Barnave into the interior of the Palace; but when the Queen was free from the inner guard she said she would see him. The very great precautions which it was necessary for the deputy to take in order to conceal his connection with the King and Queen compelled them to spend two hours waiting for him in one of the corridors of the Tuileries, and all in vain. The first day that he was to be admitted a man whom Barnave knew to be dangerous having met him in the courtyard of the Palace he determined to cross it without stopping,

and walked in the gardens in order to lull suspicion. I was desired to wait for Barnave at a little door belonging to the *entresols* of the Palace, with my hand upon the open lock. I was in that position for an hour. The King came to me frequently, and always to speak to me of the uneasiness which a servant belonging to the Château, who was a patriot, gave him. He came again to ask me whether I had heard the door called *de Decret* opened. I assured him nobody had been in the corridor, and he became easy. He was dreadfully apprehensive that his connection with Barnave would be discovered. "It would," said the King, "be a ground for grave accusations, and the unfortunate man would be lost." I then ventured to remind his Majesty that as Barnave was not the only one in the secret of the business which brought him in contact with their Majesties, one of his colleagues might be induced to speak of the association with which they were honoured, and that in letting them know by my presence that I also was informed of it, a risk was incurred of removing from those gentlemen part of the responsibility of the secret. Upon this observation the King quitted me hastily and returned a moment afterwards with the Queen. "Give me your place," said she, "I will wait for him in my turn. You have convinced the King. We must not increase in their eyes the number of persons informed of their communications with us."

The police of M. de Laporte, intendant of the civil list, apprised him, as early as the latter end

of 1791, that a man belonging to the King's offices who had set up as a pastry-cook at the Palais Royal was about to resume the duties of his situation, which had devolved upon him again on the death of one who held it for life; that he was so furious a Jacobin that he had dared to say it would be a good thing for France if the King's days were shortened. His duty was confined to making the pastry; he was closely watched by the head officers of the kitchen, who were devoted to his Majesty; but it is so easy to introduce a subtle poison into made dishes that it was determined the King and Queen should eat only plain roast meat in future; that their bread should be brought to them by M. Thierry de Ville-d'Avray, intendant of the smaller apartments, and that he should likewise take upon himself to supply the wine. The King was fond of pastry; I was directed to order some, as if for myself, sometimes of one pastry-cook, and sometimes of another. The pounded sugar, too, was kept in my room. The King, the Queen, and Madame Elizabeth ate together, and nobody remained to wait on them. Each had a dumb waiter and a little bell to call the servants when they were wanted. M. Thierry used himself to bring me their Majesties' bread and wine, and I locked them up in a private cupboard in the King's closet on the ground floor. As soon as the King sat down to table I took in the pastry and bread. All was hidden under the table lest it might be necessary to have the servants in. The King thought it dangerous as well as dis-

treasuring to show any apprehension of attempts against his person, or any mistrust of his officers of the kitchen. As he never drank a whole bottle of wine at his meals (the Princesses drank nothing but water), he filled up that out of which he had drunk about half from the bottle served up by the officers of his butlery. I took it away after dinner. Although he never ate any other pastry than that which I brought, he took care in the same manner that it should seem that he had eaten of that served at table. The lady who succeeded me found this duty all regulated, and she executed it in the same manner ; the public never was in possession of these particulars, nor of the apprehensions which gave rise to them. At the end of three or four months the police of M. de Laporte gave notice that nothing more was to be dreaded from that sort of plot against the King's life ; that the plan was entirely changed ; and that all the blows now to be struck would be directed as much against the throne as against the person of the sovereign.

There are others besides myself who know that at this time one of the things about which the Queen most desired to be satisfied was the opinion of the famous Pitt. She would sometimes say to me, "I never pronounce the name of *Pitt* without feeling a chill like that of death" (I repeat here her very expressions). "That man is the mortal enemy of France ; and he takes a dreadful revenge for the impolitic support given by the cabinet of Versailles to the American insurgents. He wishes by our

destruction to guarantee the maritime power of his country for ever against the efforts made by the King to improve his marine power and their happy results during the last war. He knows that it is not only the King's policy but his private inclination to be solicitous about his fleets, and that the most active step he has taken during his whole reign was to visit the port of Cherbourg. Pitt has served the cause of the French Revolution from the first disturbances ; he will perhaps serve it until its annihilation. I will endeavour to learn to what point he intends to lead us, and I am sending M. — to London for that purpose. He has been intimately connected with Pitt, and they have often had political conversations respecting the French Government. I will get him to make him speak out, at least so far as such a man can speak out."

Some time afterwards the Queen told me that her secret envoy was returned from London, and that all he had been able to wring from Pitt, whom he found alarmingly reserved, was that *he would not suffer the French monarchy to perish* ; that to suffer the revolutionary spirit to erect an organised republic in France would be a great error, affecting the tranquillity of Europe. "Whenever," said she, "Pitt expressed himself upon the necessity of supporting *monarchy* in France, he maintained the most profound silence upon what concerns the monarch. The result of these conversations is anything but encouraging ; but, even as to that monarchy which he



wishes to save, will he have means and strength to save it if he suffers us to fall?"

The death of the Emperor Leopold took place on the 1st of March 1792. When the news of this event reached the Tuileries the Queen was gone out. Upon her return I put the letter containing it into her hands. She exclaimed that the Emperor had been poisoned; that she had remarked and preserved a newspaper, in which, in an article upon the sitting of the Jacobins, at the time when the Emperor Leopold declared for the coalition, it was said, speaking of him, that a *piecrust* would settle that matter. The Queen lamented her brother. However, the education of Francis II., which had been superintended by the Emperor Joseph, inspired her with new hopes: she thought he must have inherited sentiments of affection for her, and did not doubt that he had, under the care of his uncle, imbibed that valiant spirit so necessary for the support of a crown. At this period Barnave obtained the Queen's consent that he should read all the letters she should write. He was fearful of private correspondences that might hamper the plan marked out for her; he mistrusted her Majesty's sincerity on this point; and the diversity of counsels, and the necessity of yielding, on the one hand, to some of the views of the constitutionalists, and on the other, to those of the French Princes, and even of foreign Courts, were unfortunately the circumstances which most rapidly impelled the Court towards its ruin.

The Queen wished she could have shown Bar-



nave the letter of condolence she wrote to Francis II. This letter was to be shown to her *triumvirate* (as she sometimes designated the three deputies whom I have named). She would not use a single word which, by clashing with their plans, might prevent its going; she was also fearful of introducing anything not in accordance with her private sentiments which the Emperor might learn by other means. "Sit down at that table," said she to me, "and sketch me out a letter: dwell upon the idea that I see in my nephew the pupil of Joseph. If yours be better than mine you shall dictate it to me." I wrote a letter; she read it and said, "It is the very thing, the matter concerned me too nearly to admit of my keeping the true line as you have done."

The party of the Princes was much alarmed on being informed of the communication between the remnant of the constitutional party and the Queen, who, on her part, always dreaded the party of the Princes. She did justice to the Comte d'Artois, and often said that his party would act in contradiction to his feelings towards the King, his brother, and herself; but that he would be led away by people over whom Calonne had a most lamentable ascendancy. She reproached Count Esterhazy, whom she had loaded with favours, for having sided with Calonne so entirely that she had reason to consider him an enemy.

However, the emigrants showed great apprehensions of the consequences which might follow in

the interior from a connection with the constitution-  
alists, whom they described as a party existing only  
in idea, and totally without means of repairing their  
errors. The Jacobins were preferred to them, be-  
cause, said they, there would be no treaty to be  
made with any one at the moment of extricating the  
King and his family from the abyss in which they  
were plunged.

I frequently read to the Queen the letters written  
to her by Barnave. One struck me forcibly, and I  
think I have retained the substance of it sufficiently  
well to enable me to give a faithful account of it. He  
told the Queen she did not rely enough upon the  
strength remaining in the constitutional party; that  
their flag was indeed torn, but the word *constitution*  
was still legible upon it; that this word would re-  
cover its virtue if the King and his friends would  
rally round it sincerely; that the authors of the con-  
stitution, enlightened with respect to their own  
errors, might yet amend it, and restore to the throne  
all its splendour; that the Queen must not believe  
the public mind was favourably disposed towards  
the Jacobins; that the weak joined them because  
there was no strength elsewhere, but the general  
opinion was for the constitution; that the party  
of the French Princes, unfortunately shackled by  
the policy of foreign Courts, ought not to be de-  
pendent on; that the majority of the emigrants had  
already destroyed by misconduct much of the inter-  
est excited by their misfortunes; that entire confi-  
dence ought not to be reposed in the foreign powers,

guided, as they were, by the policy of their cabinets, and not by the ties of blood; and that the interior alone was capable of supporting the integrity of the kingdom. He concluded the letter by saying that he laid at her Majesty's feet the only national party still in existence; that he feared to name it; but that she ought not to forget that Henri IV. was not assisted by foreign Princes in regaining his dominions, and that he ascended a Catholic throne after having fought at the head of a Protestant party.

Barnave and his friends presumed too far upon their strength; it was exhausted in the contest with the Court. The Queen was aware of this, and if she seemed to have any confidence in them, she was probably prompted by a policy which, it must be confessed, could only prove injurious to her.

## ANNEX TO CHAPTER VIII.

MADAME CAMPAN refers in the preceding chapter to "secret measures" and "expenditure." Bertrand de Molleville, in the second volume of his *Memoirs*, thus explains this systematic and extensive mode of bribery.

## HOW THE TRIBUNES WERE INFLUENCED.

M. de Laporte, to whom I had some time previously communicated my opinion on the subject of the tribunes, or galleries, told me that in the course of eight or nine months the King had been induced to spend more than two millions five hundred thousand livres upon the tribunes alone; and that they had, all along, been for the Jacobins; that the persons to whom the operation had been entrusted were strongly suspected of having diverted a considerable part of the money, perhaps the whole of it, to their own purposes; but that this inconvenience was unavoidable in an expenditure of that sort, which, from its nature, was not susceptible of any control or check whatever; and that this consideration had determined the King to discontinue it.

I will not insist, as a certain fact, that the two chief agents in this service (MM. T—— and S——) did really apply the fund committed to them to their own use, although it was a matter of public notoriety that since their being entrusted with it one of them made purchases to the extent of from twelve to fifteen hundred thousand livres, and the other to the extent of from seven to eight hundred thousand livres; but I have no hesitation in asserting that they can rebut the reproach of signal

knavery only by proving that they managed the operation with a want of skill and a degree of negligence almost equally culpable ; for nothing was more easy than to secure the tribunes by paying them. I had made the experiment once only during my administration, but then I was completely successful ; it was on the day on which I was to make, in the Assembly, my full reply to the denunciations which had been made against me. I was informed two days beforehand by my spies that the secret committee of the Jacobins had determined on that day to augment the number of their hirelings in the tribunes, to ensure my being hooted ; I immediately sent for one of the victors of the Bastille, to whom I had before the Revolution rendered some important services, who was entirely devoted to me, and who was a man of great weight in the Faubourg Saint Antoine. Him I directed to select from among the working men of the faubourg two hundred staunch and sturdy men on whom he could rely, and to take them next day to the Assembly, at six o'clock in the morning, in order that they might be the first there before the opening of the chamber, and so fill the front places in the tribunes at the two ends of the chamber ; and to give them no other order than merely to applaud or hoot according to a signal which was agreed on.

This manœuvre was as successful as I could wish ; my speech was repeatedly interrupted by applause, which was doubled when I ceased speaking ; the Jacobins were thunderstruck at this and could not at all understand it. A quarter of an hour afterwards I was still in the Assembly, as well as all the ministers who had made it their duty to attend me on the emergency in question, when the Abbé Fauchet rose to notice a fact which he declared to be of great importance. "I have this moment," said he, "received a letter informing me that a considerable proportion of the citizens in the tribunes have been paid to applaud the Minister of Marine."

Although this was true enough, my unaltered countenance and the reputation of the Abbé Fauchet, who was known to be an unblushing liar, caused his denunciation to be ridiculed ; and it was considered a calumny the more stupid inasmuch as it was nothing unusual to hear my speeches applauded by the tribunes. True, I had always taken care to introduce into them

some of those phrases which the people never failed to applaud mechanically, when they were uttered with a certain emphasis, without troubling themselves to examine the sense in which they were used. This victory, gained in the tribunes over the Jacobins, cost me no more than two hundred and seventy livres in assignats, because a considerable number of my champions, out of regard for their leader, would receive nothing more from him than a glass of brandy.

I gave the King all these particulars in my reply to his Majesty's latter notes, and I again entreated him to permit me to make a second experiment upon the tribunes for one single week only, upon a plan which I annexed to my letter, and the expense of which did not exceed eight hundred livres *per diem*. This plan consisted in filling the front rows of the two tribunes with two hundred and sixty-two trusty fellows, whose pay was fixed at the following rates :—

	<i>Liv. per diem.</i>
1st. To a leader, who alone was in the secret . . . . .	50
2dly. To a sub-leader, chosen by the former . . . . .	25
3dly. To ten assistants, selected by the leader and sub-leader, having no knowledge of each other, and each deputed to recruit twenty-five men, and take them daily to the Assembly, ten livres a piece ; total . . . . .	100
4thly. To two hundred and fifty men, each fifty sous a day ; total . . . . .	625
Total . . . . .	<u>800 livres.</u>

The leader and sub-leader were to be placed, one in the middle of the front row of one tribune, and the other in the same situation in the other tribune ; each of them was known only to the five assistants whom he had under his orders in the tribune in which he took his seat ; the sub-leader received his directions by a signal concerted between themselves alone ; they had a second signal for the purpose of passing the order to the adjutants, each of whom again transmitted it to his twenty-five men by a third signal. All of them, with the exception of the leader and sub-leader, were to be engaged in the name of Pétion, for

the support of the constitution against the aristocrats and republicans. Each assistant was to pay his own recruits, and was to receive the funds from the leader or the sub-leader, in proportion to the number of men he brought with him.

The leader alone was to correspond with a friend of a captain of the King's constitutional guard, named Piquet, a man of courage, and entirely devoted to his Majesty's service. This captain was to receive from me daily the funds necessary for the expenditure of the day following, with directions for the conduct of the tribunes according to what had passed on the day preceding; he was to communicate the whole to his friend, who, in his turn, was to transmit to the leader of the operation. By means of these various subdivisions this manœuvre might get wind by treachery or otherwise without any serious inconvenience resulting from it, because it cut off the possibility of all ultimate discovery, and prevented inquiries from being directed to me; nothing more was necessary than to remove any one of the intermediaries. Besides, in order so far as possible to watch the fidelity of the agents of this enterprise, and in some measure to keep a check upon the expense, I had agreed with Buob, a *juge de la paix*, that he should daily send five of his runners, whose salary I was to pay him, into each of the tribunes to see what was going forward there, especially in the front rows; to calculate as exactly as they could the number of persons shouting or applauding, and give him an account accordingly. We had not neglected to apprise the assistants that this inspection was regularly made by agents of Pétion.

The King returned me this plan after reflecting upon it for four-and-twenty hours, and authorised me to try it in the course of the following week; this was the result:—The first and second days our people contented themselves with silencing all marks of disapprobation and applause under pretence of hearing better, and that was one great point gained. On the third day, they began slightly to applaud constitutional motions and opinions, and continued to prevent contrary motions and opinions from being heard. On the fourth day, the same line of conduct was continued, only the applauses were warmer, and longer persevered in. The Assembly could not make it out; several of the members looked towards the tribunes frequently and with

attention, and made themselves easy on seeing them filled with individuals whose appearance and dress were as usual. On the fifth day, the marks of applause became stronger, and they began to murmur a little against anti-constitutional motions and remarks. At this the Assembly appeared somewhat disconcerted ; but one of the assistants, on being interrogated by a deputy, replying that he was for the constitution and for Pétion, it was supposed that the disapprobation which had been heard was the effect of some mistake. On the sixth day, the sounds of approbation and disapprobation were still conducted in the same way, but with a degree of violence considerable enough to give offence to the Assembly ; a motion was made against the tribunes, who repelled it by violent clamours, insults, and threats. Some of the men employed carried their audacity so far as to raise their sticks, as if to strike the deputies who were near them, and repeated, over and over again, that the Assembly consisted of a pack of beggars, who ought to be knocked on the head. The President, no doubt thinking that it was not quite prudent to wait till the majority of those who filled the tribunes should declare themselves of that opinion, broke up the sitting.

As the members of the Assembly quitted the hall, several of the deputies accosted a considerable number of individuals coming down from the tribunes, and, by dint of questions and cajolery, drew from them that they were employed by Pétion. They immediately went to complain to him on the subject, under a conviction that he had been deceived in the choice of his men and would dismiss them. Pétion, who as yet knew nothing of what had been going forward in the Assembly, swore truly that he had no hand in it. He insisted that it was a manœuvre of his enemies, and promised to leave no stone unturned to find out its authors. I was informed that in the evening several of his emissaries had been all over the faubourgs, and had questioned a great many working men ; but, fortunately, all these inquiries ended in nothing.

The letter which I addressed to the King every morning informed him of the orders I had issued for the next day with regard to the management of the tribunes ; and as he had always some confidential person at the Assembly, in order that he might be accurately informed of what was going forward there, he was



enabled to judge with what success the directions I gave were executed ; and consequently his Majesty in almost all his answers to the letters of that week observed : "The tribunes go on well—better and better—admirable." But the scene of violence on Saturday gave him some uneasiness. On the following day, when I made my appearance at the *levée*, their Majesties and Madame Elizabeth looked at me in the most gracious manner. After mass the King, passing close by me, said without turning, and low enough to be heard by nobody but myself—"Very well, only too rapidly. I will write to you." In fact, in the letter which the King returned to me the same day, he observed : "That the experiment had succeeded beyond his hopes, but that it would be dangerous, especially to myself, to pursue it. That this resource ought to be reserved for a time of need, and that he would apprise me when that time arrived."

## CHAPTER IX.

Fresh libel by Madame de Lamotte—The Queen refuses to purchase the manuscript—The King buys it—The Queen performs her Easter devotions secretly in 1792—She dares not confide in General Dumouriez—Barnave's last advice—Insults offered to the royal family by the mob—The King's dejection—20th of June—The King's kindness to Madame Campan—Iron closet—Louis XVI. entrusts a portfolio to Madame Campan—Importance of the documents it contained—Procedure of M. de La Fayette—Why it was unsuccessful—An assassin conceals himself in the Queen's apartments.

IN the beginning of the year 1792 a worthy priest requested a private interview with me. He had learned the existence of a new libel by Madame de Lamotte. He told me that the people who came from London to get it printed in Paris only desired gain, and that they were ready to deliver the manuscript to him for a thousand louis, if he could find any friend of the Queen disposed to make that sacrifice for her peace; that he had thought of me, and if her Majesty would give him the twenty-four thousand francs, he would hand the manuscript to me.

I communicated this proposal to the Queen, who rejected it, and desired me to answer that at the time when she had power to punish the hawkers of these libels she deemed them so atrocious and in-

credible that she despised them too much to stop them ; that if she were imprudent and weak enough to buy a single one of them, the Jacobins might possibly discover the circumstance through their espionage ; that were this libel bought up, it would be printed nevertheless, and would be much more dangerous when they apprised the public of the means she had used to suppress it.

Baron d'Aubier, gentleman-in-ordinary to the King, and my particular friend, had a good memory and a clear way of communicating the substance of the debates and decrees of the National Assembly. I went daily to the Queen's apartments to repeat all this to the King, who used to say, on seeing me, " Ah! here's the *Postillon par Calais*"—a newspaper of the time.

M. d'Aubier one day said to me, " The Assembly has been much occupied with an information laid by the workmen of the Sèvres manufactory. They brought to the President's office a bundle of pamphlets which they said were the life of Marie Antoinette. The director of the manufactory was ordered up to the bar, and declared he had received orders to burn the printed sheets in question in the furnaces used for baking his china."

While I was relating this business to the Queen the King coloured and held his head down over his plate. The Queen said to him, "Do you know anything about this, Sire?" The King made no answer. Madame Elizabeth requested him to explain what all this meant. Still silent. I withdrew

hastily. A few minutes afterwards the Queen came to my room and informed me that the King, out of regard for her, had purchased the whole edition struck off from the manuscript which I had mentioned to her; and that M. de Laporte had not been able to devise any more secret way of destroying the work than that of having it burnt at Sèvres among two hundred workmen, one hundred and eighty of whom must, in all probability, be Jacobins! She told me she had concealed her vexation from the King; that he was in consternation, and that she could say nothing, since his good intentions and his affection for her had been the cause of the mistake.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. de Laporte had by order of the King bought up the whole edition of the *Memoirs* of the notorious Madame de Lamotte against the Queen. Instead of destroying them immediately, he shut them up in one of the closets in his house. The alarming and rapid growth of the rebellion, the arrogance of the crowd of brigands, who in great measure composed the populace of Paris, and the fresh excesses daily resulting from it, rendered the intendant of the civil list apprehensive that some mob might break into his house, carry off these *Memoirs*, and spread them among the public. In order to prevent this he gave orders to have the *Memoirs* burnt with every necessary precaution; and the clerk who received the order entrusted the execution of it to a man named Riston, a dangerous intriguer, formerly an advocate of Nancy, who had a twelvemonth before escaped the gallows by favour of the new principles and the patriotism of the new tribunals, although convicted of forging the great seal, and fabricating decrees of the council, in a proceeding instituted at the instance of the tribunal of the King's palace, in which I examined and confronted the parties, at the risk of attempts at assassination not only by the accused, who during one of the sittings was so enraged that he rushed at me with a knife in his hand, but also by the brigands in his pay, who filled the court. This Riston, finding himself entrusted with a commission which concerned her Majesty, and the mystery attending which bespoke something of importance, was far less anxious to execute it faithfully than to

Some time afterwards the Assembly received a denunciation against M. de Montmorin. The ex-minister was accused of having neglected forty despatches from M. Genet, the *chargé d'affaires* from France in Russia, not having even unsealed them, because M. Genet acted on constitutional principles. M. de Montmorin appeared at the bar to answer this accusation. Whatever distress I might feel in obeying the order I had received from the King to go and give him an account of the sitting, I thought I ought not to fail in doing so. But instead of giving my brother his family name, I merely said *your Majesty's chargé d'affaires at St. Petersburg*.

The King did me the favour to say that he noticed a reserve in my account of which he approved. The Queen condescended to add a few obliging remarks to those of the King. However, my office of journalist gave me in this instance so

---

make a parade of this mark of confidence. On the 30th of May, at ten in the morning, he had the sheets carried to the porcelain manufactory at Sèvres, in a cart which he himself accompanied, and made a large fire of them before all the workmen, who were expressly forbidden to approach it. All these precautions, and the suspicions to which they gave rise, under such critical circumstances, gave so much publicity to this affair that it was denounced to the Assembly that very night. Brissot, and the whole Jacobin party, with equal effrontery and vehemence, insisted that the papers thus secretly burnt could be no other than the registers and documents of the correspondence of the Austrian committee. M. de Laporte was ordered to the bar, and there gave the most exact account of the circumstances. Riston was also called up, and confirmed M. de Laporte's deposition. But these explanations, however satisfactory, did not calm the violent ferment raised in the Assembly by this affair.—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

much pain that I took an opportunity, when the King was expressing his satisfaction to me at the manner in which I gave him this daily account, to tell him that its merit belonged wholly to M. d'Aubier ; and I ventured to request the King to suffer that excellent man to give him an account of the sittings himself. I assured the King that if he would permit it, that gentleman might proceed to the Queen's apartments, through mine unseen ; the King consented to the arrangement. Thenceforward M. d'Aubier gave the King repeated proofs of zeal and attachment.

The Curé of Saint Eustache ceased to be the Queen's confessor when he took the constitutional oath. I do not remember the name of the ecclesiastic who succeeded him ; I only know that he was conducted into her apartments with the greatest mystery. Their Majesties did not perform their Easter devotions in public, because they could neither declare for the constitutional clergy, nor act so as to show that they were against them.

The Queen did perform her Easter devotions in 1792 ; but she went to the chapel attended only by myself. She desired me beforehand to request one of my relations, who was her chaplain, to celebrate a mass for her at five o'clock in the morning. It was still dark ; she gave me her arm, and I lighted her with a taper. I left her alone at the chapel door. She did not return to her room until the dawn of day.

Dangers increased daily. The Assembly were

strengthened in the eyes of the people by the hostilities of the foreign armies and the army of the Princes. The communication with the latter party became more active ; the Queen wrote almost every day. M. de Goguelat possessed her confidence for all correspondence with the foreign parties, and I was obliged to have him in my apartments ; the Queen asked for him very frequently, and at times which she could not previously appoint.

All parties were exerting themselves either to ruin or to save the King. One day I found the Queen extremely agitated ; she told me she no longer knew where she was ; that the leaders of the Jacobins offered themselves to her through the medium of Dumouriez ; or that Dumouriez, abandoning the Jacobins, had come and offered himself to her ; that she had granted him an audience ; that when alone with her, he had thrown himself at her feet, and told her that he had drawn the *bonnet rouge* over his head to the very ears ; but that he neither was nor could be a Jacobin ; that the Revolution had been suffered to extend even to that rabble of destroyers who, thinking of nothing but pillage, were ripe for anything, and might furnish the Assembly with a formidable army, ready to undermine the remains of a throne already but too much shaken. Whilst speaking with the utmost ardour he seized the Queen's hand and kissed it with transport, exclaiming, "*Suffer yourself to be saved.*" The Queen told me that the protestations of a traitor were not to be relied on ; that the whole of his conduct was

so well known, that undoubtedly the wisest course was not to trust to it;<sup>1</sup> that moreover, the Princes particularly recommended that no confidence should be placed in any proposition emanating from within the kingdom; that the force without became imposing; and that it was better to rely upon their success, and upon the protection due from Heaven to a sovereign so virtuous as Louis XVI. and to so just a cause.

The constitutionalists, on their part, saw that there had been nothing more than a pretence of listening to them. Barnave's last advice was as to the means of continuing, a few weeks longer, the constitutional guard, which had been denounced to the Assembly, and was to be disbanded. The denunciation against the constitutional guard affected only *its staff, and the Duc de Brissac*. Barnave wrote to the Queen that the staff of the guard was already attacked; that the Assembly was about to pass a decree to reduce it; and he entreated her to prevail on the King, the very instant the decree should appear, to form the staff afresh of persons whose names he sent her. Barnave said that all who were set down in it passed for decided Jacobins, but were

---

<sup>1</sup> The sincerity of General Dumouriez cannot be doubted in this instance. The second volume of his Memoirs shows how unjust the mistrust and reproaches of the Queen were. By rejecting his services, Marie Antoinette deprived herself of her only remaining support. He who saved France in the défiles of Ar-gonne would perhaps have saved France before the 20th of June had he obtained the full confidence of Louis XVI. and the Queen.—*Note by the Editor.*



not so in fact; that they, as well as himself, were in despair at seeing the monarchical government attacked; that they had learned to dissemble their sentiments, and that it would be at least a fortnight before the Assembly could know them well, and certainly before it could succeed in making them unpopular; that it would be necessary to take advantage of that short space of time to get away from Paris, immediately after their nomination. The Queen was of opinion that she ought not to yield to this advice. The Duc de Brissac was sent to Orleans, and the guard was disbanded.

Barnave, seeing that the Queen did not follow his counsel in anything, and convinced that she placed all her reliance on assistance from abroad, determined to quit Paris. He obtained a last audience. "Your misfortunes, Madame," said he, "and those which I anticipate for France, determine me to sacrifice myself to serve you. I see that my advice does not agree with the views of your Majesties. I augur but little advantage from the plan you are induced to pursue—you are too remote from your succours; you will be lost before they reach you. Most ardently do I wish I may be mistaken in so lamentable a prediction; but I am sure to pay with my head for the interest your misfortunes have raised in me, and the services I have sought to render you. I request, for my sole reward, the honour of kissing your hand." The Queen, her eyes suffused with tears, granted him that favour, and remained impressed with a favourable idea of his

sentiments. Madame Elizabeth participated in this opinion, and the two Princesses frequently spoke of Barnave. The Queen also received M. Duport several times, but with less mystery. Her connection with the constitutional deputies transpired. Alexandre de Lameth was the only one of the three who survived the vengeance of the Jacobins.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> When, after the revolution of the 10th of August 1792, the iron closet of the Château of the Tuileries had been discovered and forced, a considerable number of documents, which had been imprudently preserved in it, and which were communicated to the Convention by Gohier, who had just succeeded Danton in the ministry of justice, proved that the Court had established and maintained during the latter months of the session of the Constituent Assembly, and from the time of the meeting of the Legislative Assembly, constant communication with the most powerful members of those Assemblies. Being decreed as accused, on the 15th of August 1792, with Alexandre de Lameth, ex-member of the Constituent Assembly, Bertrand de Molleville, Duport du Tertre, Duportail, Montmorin, and Tarbé, ex-ministers of the marine, of justice, of war, of foreign affairs, and of public contributions, Barnave was arrested at Grenoble. He remained in prison in that town fifteen months, and his friends began to hope that he would be forgotten, when an order arrived that he should be removed to Paris. At first he was imprisoned in the Abbaye, but transferred to the Conciergerie, and almost immediately taken before the revolutionary tribunal. He appeared there with wonderful firmness, summed up the services he had rendered to the cause of liberty with his usual eloquence, and made such an impression upon the numerous auditors that, although accustomed to behold only conspirators worthy of death in all those who appeared before the tribunal, they themselves considered his acquittal certain. The decree of death was read amidst the deepest silence; but Barnave's firmness was immovable. When he left the court, he cast upon the judges, the jurors, and the public looks expressive of contempt and indignation. He was led to his fate with the respected Duport du Tertre, one of the last ministers of Louis XVI. When he had ascended the scaffold, Barnave stamped, raised his eyes to heaven, and said—"This, then, is the reward of all that I have done for liberty!" He fell on the 29th of

The national guard, which succeeded the King's guard, having occupied the gates of the Tuileries, all who came to see the Queen were insulted with impunity. Menacing cries were uttered aloud even in the Tuileries; they called for the destruction of the throne, and the murder of the sovereign; the grossest insults were offered by the very lowest of the mob.

About this time the King fell into a despondent state, which amounted almost to physical helplessness. He passed ten successive days without uttering a single word, even in the bosom of his family; except, indeed, when playing at backgammon after dinner with Madame Elizabeth. The Queen roused him from this state, so fatal at a critical period, by throwing herself at his feet, urging every alarming idea, and employing every affectionate expression. She represented also what he owed to his family; and told him that if they were doomed to fall they ought to fall honourably, and not wait to be smothered upon the floor of their apartment.

About the 15th of June 1792 the King refused his sanction to the two decrees ordaining the deportation of priests, and the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris. He himself wished to sanction them, and said that the general insurrection only waited for a pretence to

---

October 1793, in the thirty-second year of his age; his bust was placed in the Grenoble Museum. The Consular Government placed his statue next to that of Vergniaud, on the great staircase of the palace of the Senate.—*Biographie de Bruxelles.*

burst forth.<sup>1</sup> The Queen insisted upon the *veto*, and reproached herself bitterly when this last act of the constitutional authority had occasioned the day of the 20th of June.

<sup>1</sup> This assertion contradicts the almost unanimous testimony of historians. To say nothing of Dumouriez, who tells us precisely the contrary, Bertrand de Molleville enters into particulars upon the subject which leave no room for doubt. "The Assembly," he says, "which kept up its credit by acts of violence, passed a decree against non-constitutional priests, to oblige them to take a fresh oath, or quit the kingdom. The bishops then in Paris met to draw up a petition against this decree, under a conviction that the King, who had already shown the deepest regret at having sanctioned the decrees relating to the clergy, would rejoice at having grounds pointed out to him for refusing his sanction to this. When the petition was drawn up they asked leave to put it into his Majesty's hands, and the Bishop of Uzès had a private correspondence with me on this occasion; for at this period no minister could have received a bishop publicly without becoming an object of suspicion *to the nation*. The King appeared much moved on reading the petition, and said to me, with the energy which always warmed him when religion was under discussion,—'They may be very sure I will never sanction it. But the question is, whether I ought to assign a reason for my refusal, or give it plainly and simply according to the usual formula; or whether, under all circumstances, it is not more prudent to temporise. Try to find out what your colleagues think about it before it is discussed in council.' I observed that the constitution dispensed with any reason for the King's refusal to sanction; and that although the Assembly ought to be pleased at seeing his Majesty waive so important a prerogative, they were capable of carrying their insolence so far as to refuse to hear his reasons, and would even reproach him for this departure from the constitution as a violation of his oath; that, as to temporising, it would be showing weakness, and inviting the Assembly to become still more audacious; and therefore that a plain unexplained refusal of the sanction was the safest course. This matter was discussed next day at the council of the ministers. They all saw the necessity for refusing the sanction; and at the following council they unanimously recommended that course to the King, who determined upon it with the greatest satisfaction. But this gleam of happiness was clouded by a proposal made to him by the minister of the interior immediately to

A few days previously above twenty thousand men had gone to the Commune to announce that, on the 20th, they would plant the tree of liberty at the door of the National Assembly, and present a petition to the King respecting the *veto* which he had placed upon the decree for the deportation of the priests. This dreadful army crossed the garden of the Tuileries, and marched under the Queen's windows; it consisted of people who called themselves the citizens of the Faubourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau. Covered with filthy clothes, they bore a most terrifying appearance, and even infected the air. People asked each other where such an army could come from; nothing so disgusting had ever before appeared in Paris.

On the 20th of June this mob thronged about the Tuileries in still greater numbers, armed with pikes, hatchets, and murderous instruments of all kinds, decorated with ribbons of the national colours, shouting, "*The nation for ever! Down with the veto!*" The King was without guards. Some of these desperadoes rushed up to his apartment; the door was about to be forced in, when the King commanded that it should be opened. Messieurs de

---

form his chapel, and that of the Queen, of constitutional priests, as the most certain way to convince the people of his sincere attachment to the constitution. "No, sir, no," replied the King in the firmest tone; "do not speak of that to me; let me be left at rest upon that point. When liberty of worship was established, it was established for all; I ought, therefore, to enjoy it." The warmth with which the King spoke surprised us all, and silenced M. Cahier de Gerville."—*Note by the Editor.*

Bougainville, d'Hervilly, de Parois, d'Aubier, Acloque,<sup>1</sup> Gentil, and other courageous men who were in the apartment of M. de Septeuil, the King's first *valet de chambre*, instantly ran to his Majesty's apartment. M. de Bougainville, seeing the torrent furiously advancing, cried out, "Put the King in the recess of the window, and place benches before him." Six royalist grenadiers of the battalion of the Filles Saint Thomas made their way by an inner staircase, and ranged themselves before the benches. The order given by M. de Bougainville saved the King from the blades of the assassins, among whom was a Pole named Lazousky, who was to strike the first blow. The King's brave defenders said, "Sire, fear nothing." The King's reply is well known—"Put your hand upon my heart, and you will perceive whether I am afraid." M. Vanot, commandant of battalion, warded off a blow aimed by a wretch against the King; a grenadier of the Filles Saint Thomas parried a sword-thrust made in the same direction. Madame Elizabeth ran to her brother's apartments; when she reached the door she heard loud threats of death against the Queen: they called for the head of the Austrian. "Ah! let them think I am the Queen," she said to those around her, "that she may have time to escape."

The Queen could not join the King; she was in the council chamber, where she had been placed

---

<sup>1</sup> A citizen of Paris, commandant of battalion, who during the whole of the Revolution was in direct opposition to the regicide Santerre.—*Madame Campan*.

behind the great table to protect her, as much as possible, against the approach of the barbarians. Preserving a noble and becoming demeanour in this dreadful situation, she held the Dauphin before her, seated upon the table. Madame was at her side; the Princesse de Lamballe, the Princesse de Tarente, Madame de la Roche-Aymon, Madame de Tourzel, and Madame de Mackau, surrounded her. She had fixed a tri-coloured cockade, which one of the national guard had given her, upon her head. The poor little Dauphin was, like the King, shrouded in an enormous red cap.<sup>1</sup> The horde passed in files before the table; the sort of stan-

<sup>1</sup> One of the circumstances of the 20th of June which most vexed the King's friends being that of his wearing the *bonnet rouge* nearly three hours, I ventured to ask him for some explanation of a fact so strikingly in contrast with the extraordinary intrepidity shown by his Majesty during that horrible day. This was his answer: "The cries of '*The nation for ever!*' violently increasing around me, and seeming to be addressed to me, I replied that the nation had not a warmer friend than myself. Upon this an ill-looking man, making his way through the crowd, came up to me and said, rather roughly, '*Well, if you speak the truth, prove it by putting on this red cap.*' 'I consent,' replied I. One or two of them immediately came forward and placed the cap upon my hair, for it was too small for my head. I was convinced, I knew not why, that his intention was merely to place the cap upon my head for a moment, and then to take it off again; and I was so completely taken up with what was passing before me that I did not feel whether the cap did or did not remain upon my hair. I was so little aware of it that when I returned to my room I knew only from being told so that it was still there. I was very much surprised to find it upon my head, and was the more vexed at it because I might have taken it off immediately without the smallest difficulty. But I am satisfied that if I had hesitated to consent to its being placed upon my head the drunken fellow who offered it to me would have thrust his pike into my stomach."—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*



dards which they carried were symbols of the most atrocious barbarity. There was one representing a gibbet, to which a dirty doll was suspended; the words "*Marie Antoinette à la lanterne*" were written beneath it. Another was a board, to which a bullock's heart was fastened, with "*Heart of Louis XVI.*" written round it. And a third showed the horn of an ox, with an obscene inscription.

One of the most furious Jacobin women who marched with these wretches stopped to give vent to a thousand imprecations against the Queen. Her Majesty asked whether she had ever seen her. She replied that she had not. Whether she had done her any personal wrong. Her answer was the same; but she added, "It is you who have caused the misery of the nation." "You have been told so," answered the Queen; "you are deceived. As the wife of the King of France, and mother of the Dauphin, I am a Frenchwoman; I shall never see my own country again—I can be happy or unhappy only in France; I was happy when you loved me." The fury began to weep, asked her pardon, and said, "It was because I did not know you; I see that you are good."

Santerre, the monarch of the faubourgs, made his subjects file off as quickly as he could; and it was thought at the time that he was ignorant of the object of this insurrection, which was the murder of the royal family. However, it was eight o'clock in the evening before the Palace was completely cleared. Twelve deputies, impelled by attachment to the



King's person, ranged themselves near him at the commencement of the insurrection ; but the deputation from the Assembly did not reach the Tuileries until six in the evening ; all the doors of the apartments were broken. The Queen pointed out to the deputies the state of the King's Palace, and the disgraceful manner in which his asylum had been violated under the very eyes of the Assembly : she saw that Merlin de Thionville was so much affected as to shed tears while she spoke. "You weep, M. Merlin," said she to him, "at seeing the King and his family so cruelly treated by a people whom he always wished to make happy." "True, Madame," replied Merlin ; "I weep for the misfortunes of a beautiful and feeling woman, the mother of a family ; but do not mistake, not one of my tears falls for either King or Queen ; I hate kings and queens : it is my religion." The Queen could not understand this madness, and saw all that was to be apprehended from persons who evinced it.

All hope was gone, and nothing was thought of but succour from abroad. The Queen appealed to her family and the King's brothers ; her letters probably became more pressing, and expressed apprehensions upon the tardiness of relief. Her Majesty read me one to herself from the Archduchess Christina, Gouvernante of the Low Countries : she reproached the Queen for some of her expressions, and told her that those out of France were at least as much alarmed as herself at the King's situation and her own ; but that the manner of attempting to

assist her might either save her or endanger her safety; and that the members of the coalition were bound to act prudently, entrusted as they were with interests so dear to them.

The 14th of July 1792, fixed by the constitution as the anniversary of the independence of the nation, drew near. The King and Queen were compelled to make their appearance on the occasion; aware that the plot of the 20th of June had their assassination for its object, they had no doubt but that their death was determined on for the day of this national festival. The Queen was recommended, in order to give the King's friends time to defend him if the attack should be made, to guard him against the first stroke of a dagger by making him wear a breastplate. I was directed to get one made in my apartments: it was composed of fifteen folds of Italian taffety, and formed into an under-waistcoat and a wide belt. This breastplate was tried; it resisted all thrusts of the dagger, and several balls were turned aside by it. When it was completed the difficulty was to let the King try it on without running the risk of being surprised. I wore the immense heavy waistcoat as an under-petticoat for three days without being able to find a favourable moment. At length the King found an opportunity one morning to pull off his coat in the Queen's chamber and try on the breastplate.

The Queen was in bed; the King pulled me gently by the gown, and drew me as far as he could from the Queen's bed, and said to me, in a

very low tone of voice: "It is to satisfy her that I submit to this inconvenience: they will not assassinate me; their scheme is changed; they will put me to death another way." The Queen heard the King whispering to me, and when he was gone out she asked me what he had said. I hesitated to answer; she insisted that I should, saying that nothing must be concealed from her, and that she was resigned upon every point. When she was informed of the King's remark she told me she had guessed it, that he had long since observed to her that all which was going forward in France was an imitation of the revolution in England in the time of Charles I., and that he was incessantly reading the history of that unfortunate monarch in order that he might act better than Charles had done at a similar crisis.<sup>1</sup> "I begin to be fearful of the

<sup>1</sup> The King's usual book was the History of Charles I., and his principal attention was directed to avoiding, in all his actions, everything that might serve as a pretence for a judicial accusation. He would readily have sacrificed his life, but not the glory of France, which an assassination, that would have been only the crime of a few individuals, would not have tarnished. To all my congratulations upon his good fortune in escaping the dangers of the 20th June his Majesty answered with the utmost indifference: "All my uneasiness was about the Queen and my sister; for as to myself——" "But it appears to me," said I, "this insurrection was directed chiefly against your Majesty." "I know it well; I saw that they wished to assassinate me, and I cannot tell how it was they did not do so. But I shall not escape them another time, so that I am no better off: there is but little difference in being assassinated two months earlier or later." "Good heavens! Sire," exclaimed I, "can your Majesty, then, so steadfastly believe that you will be assassinated?" "Yes, I am certain of it; I have long expected it, and have made up my mind. Do you think I fear death?" "No, surely; but I should be glad to see your

King's being brought to trial," continued the Queen ; "as to me, I am a foreigner ; they will assassinate me. What will become of my poor children ?" These sad ejaculations were followed by a torrent of tears.<sup>1</sup> I wished to give her an antispasmodic ;

Majesty less determined to expect that event, and more disposed to adopt vigorous measures, which are now become the only means by which the King can look to be rescued." "I believe that, but still there would be many chances against me, and I am not fortunate. I should be at no loss if I had not my family with me. It would soon be seen that I am not so weak as they think me ; but what will become of my wife and children if I do not succeed ?" "But does your Majesty think that if you were assassinated your family would be more secure ?" "Yes, I do think so, at least I hope so ; and if it happened otherwise I should not have to reproach myself with being the cause of their misfortunes. Besides, what could I do ?" "I think your Majesty might at this moment leave Paris with greater ease than ever, because the events of yesterday but too clearly prove that your life is not safe in the capital." "Oh ! I will not fly a second time : I suffered too much before." "I am of opinion, too, that your Majesty should not think of it, at least at this moment : but it seems to me that existing circumstances, and the general indignation which the affair of yesterday appears to have excited, present the King with the most favourable opportunity that can possibly offer for leaving Paris publicly, not only with the consent of the great majority of the citizens, but with their approbation. I ask your Majesty's permission to reflect upon this step, and to give you my ideas upon the mode and means of executing it." "Do so, but it is a more difficult matter than you imagine."—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville.*

<sup>1</sup> These distressing scenes were often renewed. There is nothing in history to which the misfortunes of Marie Antoinette can be compared but those of Henriette de France, the daughter of Henri IV., wife of Charles I., and mother of Charles II. Like Henriette, she was accused of having exercised too much control over the King's mind ; like her, she was haunted by continual fears for the lives of her husband and her children : but she had not, like Henriette, the consolation, after protracted misfortunes, of seeing her family re-ascend the throne. The tragic and deplorable end of Mary Stuart awaited her who had experienced all the griefs of Henriette de France.—*Note by the Editor.*

she refused it, saying that only happy women could feel nervous; that the cruel situation to which she was reduced rendered these remedies useless. In fact the Queen, who during her happier days was frequently attacked by hysterical disorders, enjoyed more uniform health when all the faculties of her soul were called forth to support her physical strength.

I had prepared a corset for her, for the same purpose as the King's under-waistcoat, without her knowledge; but she would not make use of; all my entreaties, all my tears, were in vain. "If the factions assassinate me," she replied, "it will be a fortunate event for me; they will deliver me from a most painful existence." A few days after the King had tried on his breastplate I met him on a back staircase. I drew back to let him pass. He stopped and took my hand; I wished to kiss his; he would not suffer it, but drew me towards him by the hand, and kissed both my cheeks without saying a single word.

The fear of another attack upon the Tuileries occasioned scrupulous search among the King's papers: I burnt almost all those belonging to the Queen. She put her family letters, a great deal of correspondence which she thought it necessary to preserve for the history of the era of the Revolution, and particularly Barnave's letters and her answers, of which she had copies, into a portfolio, which she entrusted to M. de J—. That gentleman was unable to save this deposit, and it was burnt. The

Queen left a few papers in her *secrétaire*. Among them were instructions to Madame de Tourzel, respecting the dispositions of her children and the characters and abilities of the sub-governesses under that lady's orders. This paper, which the Queen drew up at the time of Madame de Tourzel's appointment, with several letters from Maria Theresa, filled with the best advice and instructions, were printed after the 10th of August by order of the Assembly in the collection of papers found in the *secrétaires* of the King and Queen.

Her Majesty had still, without reckoning the income of the month, one hundred and forty thousand francs in gold. She was desirous of depositing the whole of it with me; but I advised her to retain fifteen hundred louis, as a sum of rather considerable amount might be suddenly necessary for her. The King had an immense quantity of papers, and unfortunately conceived the idea of privately making, with the assistance of a locksmith, who had worked with him above ten years, a place of concealment in an inner corridor of his apartments. The place of concealment, but for the man's information, would have been long undiscovered.<sup>1</sup> The wall in which it was made was painted to imitate large stones, and the opening was entirely concealed among the brown grooves which formed the shaded part of these painted stones. But even before this locksmith had denounced what was after-

---

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 164.

wards called *the iron closet* to the Assembly, the Queen was aware that he had talked of it to some of his friends; and that this man, in whom the King from long habit placed too much confidence, was a Jacobin. She warned the King of it, and prevailed on him to fill a very large portfolio with all the papers he was most interested in preserving, and entrust it to me. She entreated him in my presence to leave nothing in this closet; and the King, in order to quiet her, told her that he had left nothing there. I would have taken the portfolio and carried it to my apartment, but it was too heavy for me to lift. The King said he would carry it himself; I went before to open the doors for him. When he placed the portfolio in my inner closet he merely said, "The Queen will tell you what it contains." Upon my return to the Queen I put the question to her, deeming, from what the King had said, that it was necessary I should know. "They are," the Queen answered me, "such documents as would be most dangerous to the King should they go so far as to proceed to a trial against him. But what he wishes me to tell you is, that the portfolio contains a *procès-verbal* of a cabinet council, in which the King gave his opinion against the war. He had it signed by all the ministers, and, in case of a trial, he trusts that this document will be very useful to him." I asked the Queen to whom she thought I ought to commit the portfolio. "To whom you please," answered she, "*you alone are answerable for it.* Do not quit the Palace even



during your vacation months : there may be circumstances under which it would be very desirable that we should be able to have it instantly."

At this period M. de La Fayette, who had probably given up the idea of establishing a republic in France similar to that of the United States, and was desirous to support the first constitution which he had sworn to defend, quitted his army and came to the Assembly for the purpose of supporting by his presence and by an energetic speech a petition signed by twenty thousand citizens against the late violation of the residence of the King and his family. The General found the constitutional party powerless, and saw that he himself had lost his popularity. The Assembly disapproved of the step he had taken ; the King, for whom it was taken, showed no satisfaction at it, and he saw himself compelled to return to his army as quickly as he could. He thought he could rely on the national guard ; but on the day of his arrival those officers who were in the King's interest inquired of his Majesty whether they were to forward the views of General de La Fayette by joining him in such measures as he should pursue during his stay at Paris. The King enjoined them not to do so. From this answer M. de La Fayette perceived that he was abandoned by the remainder of his party in the Paris guard.

On his arrival a plan was presented to the Queen, in which it was proposed by a junction between La Fayette's army and the King's party to rescue the royal family and convey them to Rouen.



I did not learn the particulars of this plan ; the Queen only said to me upon the subject that M. de La Fayette was offered to them as a resource ; but that it would be better for them to perish than to owe their safety to the man who had done them the most mischief, or to place themselves under the necessity of treating with him.

I passed the whole month of July without going to bed ; I was fearful of some attack by night. There was one plot against the Queen's life which has never been made known. I was alone by her bedside at one o'clock in the morning ; we heard somebody walking softly down the corridor, which passes along the whole line of her apartments, and which was then locked at each end. I went out to fetch the *valet de chambre* ; he entered the corridor, and the Queen and myself soon heard the noise of two men fighting. The unfortunate Princess held me locked in her arms, and said to me, "What a situation ! insults by day and assassins by night !" The *valet de chambre* cried out to her from the corridor, "Madame, it is a wretch that I know ; I have him !" "Let him go," said the Queen ; "open the door to him ; he came to murder me ; the Jacobins would carry him about in triumph to-morrow." The man was a servant of the King's toilette, who had taken the key of the corridor out of his Majesty's pocket after he was in bed, no doubt with the intention of committing the crime suspected. The *valet de chambre*, who was a very strong man, held him by the wrists, and thrust him

out at the door. The wretch did not speak a word. The *valet de chambre* said, in answer to the Queen, who spoke to him gratefully of the danger to which he had exposed himself, that he feared nothing; and that he had always a pair of excellent pistols about him for no other purpose than to defend her Majesty.

Next day M. de Septeuil had all the locks of the King's inner apartments changed. I did the same by those of the Queen.

We were every moment told that the Faubourg Saint Antoine was preparing to march against the Palace. At four o'clock one morning towards the latter end of July a person came to give me information to that effect. I instantly sent off two men, on whom I could rely, with orders to proceed to the usual places for assembling, and to come back speedily and give me an account of the state of the city. We knew that at least an hour must elapse before the populace of the faubourgs assembled on the site of the Bastile could reach the Tuileries. It seemed to me sufficient for the Queen's safety that all about her should be awakened. I went softly into her room; she was asleep; I did not awaken her. I found General de W—— in the great closet; he told me the meeting was, for this once, dispersing. The General had endeavoured to please the populace by the same means as M. de La Fayette had employed. He saluted the lowest *poissarde*, and lowered his hat down to his very stirrup. But the populace, who had been flattered for three years,

required far different homage to its power, and the poor man was unnoticed. The King had been awakened, and so had Madame Elizabeth, who had gone to him. The Queen, yielding to the weight of her griefs, slept till nine o'clock on that day, which was very unusual with her. The King had already been to know whether she was awake: I told him what I had done, and the care I had taken not to disturb her. He thanked me and said, "I was awake, and so was the whole Palace; she ran no risk. I am very glad to see her take a little rest—Alas! her griefs double mine!" What was my chagrin when upon awaking and learning what had passed the Queen burst into tears from regret at not having been called, and to upbraid me, on whose friendship she ought to have been able to rely, for having served her so ill under such circumstances! In vain did I reiterate that it had been only a false alarm, and that she required to have her strength recruited. "It is not diminished," said she: "misfortune gives us additional strength. Elizabeth was with the King, and I was asleep—I who am determined to perish by his side! I am his wife; I will not suffer him to incur the smallest risk without my sharing it."

## CHAPTER X.

Madame Campan's communications with M. Bertrand de Molleville for the King's service—Hope of a speedy deliverance—The Queen's reflections upon the character of Louis XVI.—Insults—Inquiry set on foot by the Princesse de Lamballe respecting the persons of the Queen's household—The 10th of August—Curious particulars—Battle—Scenes of carnage—The royal family at the Feuillans.

DURING July the correspondence of M. Bertrand de Molleville with the King and Queen was most active. M. de Marsilly, formerly a lieutenant of the *Cent Suisses* of the guard, was the bearer of the letters.<sup>1</sup> He came to me the first time with a note from the Queen directed to M. Bertrand himself. In this note the Queen said : "Address yourself with

---

<sup>1</sup> I received by night only the King's answer, written with his own hand, in the margin of my letter. I always sent him back with the day's letter that to which he had replied the day before, so that my letters and his answers, of which I contented myself with taking notes only, never remained with me twenty-four hours. I proposed this arrangement to his Majesty to remove all uneasiness from his mind ; my letters were generally delivered to the King or the Queen by M. de Marsilly, captain of the King's Guard, whose attachment and fidelity were known to their Majesties. I also sometimes employed M. Bernard de Marigny, who had left Brest for the purpose of facing the dangers which threatened the King, and sharing with all his Majesty's faithful servants the honour of forming a rampart round him with their bodies.—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville*, vol. ii. p. 12.

full confidence to Madame Campan ; the conduct of her brother in Russia has not at all influenced her sentiments ; she is wholly devoted to us ; and if, hereafter, you should have anything to say to us verbally, you may rely entirely upon her devotion and discretion."

The mobs which gathered almost nightly in the faubourgs alarmed the Queen's friends ; they entreated her not to sleep in her room on the ground-floor of the Tuileries. She removed to the first floor, to a room which was between the King's apartments and those of the Dauphin. Being awake always from daybreak, she ordered that neither the shutters nor the window blinds should be closed, that her long sleepless nights might be the less weary. About the middle of one of these nights, when the moon was shining into her bed-chamber, she gazed at it, and told me that in a month she should not see that moon unless freed from her chains, and beholding the King at liberty. She then imparted to me all that was concurring to deliver them ; but said that the opinions of their intimate advisers were alarmingly at variance ; that some vouched for complete success, while others pointed out insurmountable dangers. She added that she possessed the itinerary of the march of the Princes and the King of Prussia : that on such a day they would be at Verdun, on another day at such a place, that Lille was about to be besieged, but that M. de J——, whose prudence and intelligence the King, as well as herself, highly valued, alarmed them

much respecting the success of that siege, and made them apprehensive that, even were the commandant devoted to them, the civil authority, which by the constitution gave great power to the mayors of towns, would overrule the military commandant. She was also very uneasy as to what would take place at Paris during the interval, and spoke to me of the King's want of energy, but always in terms expressive of her veneration for his virtues and her attachment to himself. "The King," said she, "is not a coward; he possesses abundance of passive courage, but he is overwhelmed by an awkward shyness, a mistrust of himself, which proceeds from his education as much as from his disposition. He is afraid to command, and, above all things, dreads speaking to assembled numbers. He lived like a child, and always ill at ease under the eyes of Louis XV., until the age of twenty-one. This constraint confirmed his timidity.<sup>1</sup> Circumstanced as we are,

---

<sup>1</sup> One of the most remarkable features of the King's character and the nature of his mind was that his natural timidity and the difficulty which he generally felt in expressing himself were never perceptible when religion, the relief of the people, or the welfare of the French were the subjects in question; he would then speak with a facility and an energy which astonished new ministers in particular, who almost invariably came at first to the council possessed with the generally received opinion that the King had a very limited intellect. I do not mean to say that Louis XVI. was a genius; but I am convinced that if he had received a different education, and his abilities had been cultivated and exercised, he would have shown as much talent as those princes who have had the reputation of possessing the most. We saw him daily, and with the greatest ease, read a letter, a newspaper, or a memorial, and at the same time listen to the relation of some affair, and yet understand both perfectly well.

a few well-delivered words addressed to the Parisians, who are devoted to him, would multiply the strength of our party a hundredfold : he will not utter them. What can we expect from those addresses to the people which he has been advised to post up ? Nothing but fresh outrages. As for myself, I could do anything, and would appear on horseback if necessary. But if I were really to begin to act, that would be furnishing arms to the King's enemies ; the cry against the Austrian, and against the sway of a female, would become general in France ; and, moreover, by showing myself, I should render the King a mere nothing. A Queen who is not regent ought, under these circumstances, to remain passive and prepare to die."

---

The King's constant practice was to come to the council with the evening paper, and the letters or memorials which had been presented to him during the day, in his hand. He spent the first half hour of each sitting in reading them, handed the memorials which required attention to the proper ministers, lit the others and the newspaper at the taper next to him, and threw them on the floor. All this time the ministers reported the business of their respective departments, and the King understood them so well that in an affair of some delicacy, reported while he was reading by M. Cahier de Gerville, and adjourned for a week for consideration, his Majesty astonished us upon the second report of the same affair by the exactness with which he fixed upon the omission of a fact extremely important to the decision, and which M. Cahier de Gerville no longer remembered. None of us could cope with the King in point of memory. His judgment was not less sound, not only in business, but in the composition of proclamations, or of letters, or speeches addressed to the Assembly. All the important documents of that nature which appeared during my administration were submitted to the King's examination in particular, after having been discussed and frequently settled at the committee of the ministers, and there are few of them in which his Majesty did not make some valuable corrections.—*Memoirs of Bertrand de Molleville*, vol. i.

The garden of the Tuileries was full of maddened men, who insulted all who seemed to side with the court. *The Life of Marie Antoinette* was cried under the Queen's windows, infamous plates were annexed to the book, the hawkers showed them to the passers-by. On all sides were heard the jubilant outcries of a people in a state of delirium almost as frightful as the explosion of their rage. The Queen and her children were unable to breathe the open air any longer. It was determined that the garden of the Tuileries should be closed: as soon as this step was taken the Assembly decreed that the whole length of the Terrace des Feuillans belonged to it, and fixed the boundary between what was called the *national ground* and the *Coblentz ground* by a tri-coloured ribbon stretched from one end of the terrace to the other. All good citizens were ordered, by notices affixed to it, not to go down into the garden, under pain of being treated in the same manner as Foulon and Berthier.<sup>1</sup> The shutting up of the Tuileries did not enable the Queen and her children to walk in the garden. The people on the terrace sent forth dreadful howls, and she was twice compelled to return to her apartments.

---

<sup>1</sup> A young man who did not observe this written order went down into the garden; furious outcries, threats of *la lanterne*, and the crowd of people which collected upon the terrace warned him of his imprudence, and the danger which he ran. He immediately pulled off his shoes, took out his handkerchief, and wiped the dust from their soles. The people cried out, "*Bravo! the good citizen for ever!*" He was carried off in triumph.  
—*Madame Campan.*



In the early part of August many zealous persons offered the King money; he refused considerable sums, being unwilling to injure the fortunes of individuals. M. de la Ferté, intendant of the *menus plaisirs*, brought me a thousand louis, requesting me to lay them at the feet of the Queen. He thought she could not have too much money at so perilous a time, and that every good Frenchman should hasten to place all his ready money in her hands. She refused this sum, and others of much greater amount which were offered to her.<sup>1</sup> However, a few days afterwards, she told me she would accept M. de la Ferté's twenty-four thousand francs, because they would make up a sum which the King had to expend. She therefore directed me to go and receive those twenty-four thousand francs, to add them to the one hundred thousand francs she had placed in my hands, and to change the whole into assignats to increase their amount. Her orders were executed, and the assignats were delivered to the King. The Queen informed me that Madame Elizabeth had found a well-meaning man who had engaged to gain over Pétion by the bribe of a large sum of money, and that deputy would, by a preconcerted signal, inform the King of the success of the

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Auguié, my brother-in-law, receiver-general of the finances, offered her, through his wife, a portfolio containing one hundred thousand crowns in paper money. On this occasion the Queen said the most affecting things to my sister, expressive of her happiness at having contributed to the fortunes of such faithful subjects as herself and her husband, but declined her offer.—*Madame Campan*.

project. His Majesty soon had an opportunity of seeing Pétion, and on the Queen asking him before me if he was satisfied with him, the King replied, "Neither more nor less satisfied than usual; he did not make the concerted signal, and I believe I have been cheated." The Queen then condescended to explain the whole of the enigma to me. "Pétion," said she, "was, while talking to the King, to have kept his finger fixed upon his right eye for at least two seconds." "He did not even put his hand up to his chin," said the King; "after all, it is but so much money stolen: the thief will not boast of it, and the affair will remain a secret. Let us talk of something else." He turned to me and said, "Your father was an intimate friend of Mandat, who now commands the national guard; describe him to me; what ought I to expect from him?" I answered that he was one of his Majesty's most faithful subjects, but that with a great deal of loyalty he possessed very little sense, and that he was involved in the constitutional vortex. "I understand," said the King; "he is a man who would defend my palace and my person, because that is enjoined by the constitution which he has sworn to support, but who would fight against the party in favour of sovereign authority: it is well to know this with certainty."

On the next day the Princesse de Lamballe sent for me very early in the morning. I found her on a sofa facing a window that looked upon the Pont Royal. She then occupied that apartment of the Pavilion of Flora which was on a level with that of

the Queen. She desired me to sit down by her. Her Highness had a writing-desk upon her knees. "You have had many enemies," said she; "attempts have been made to deprive you of the Queen's favour; they have been far from successful. Do you know that even I myself, not being so well acquainted with you as the Queen, was rendered suspicious of you; and that upon the arrival of the Court at the Tuileries I gave you a companion to be a spy upon you; and that I had another belonging to the police placed at your door! I was assured that you received five or six of the most virulent deputies of the *tiers-état*; but it was that wardrobe woman whose rooms were above you. In short," said the Princess, "persons of integrity have nothing to fear from the evil-disposed when they belong to so upright a prince as the King. As to the Queen, she knows you, and has loved you ever since she came into France. You shall judge of the King's opinion of you: it was yesterday evening decided in the family circle that at a time when the Tuileries is likely to be attacked it was necessary to have the most faithful account of the opinions and conduct of all the individuals composing the Queen's service. The King takes the same precaution on his part respecting all who are about him. He said there was with him a person of great integrity, to whom he would commit this inquiry; and that, with regard to the Queen's household, you must be spoken to; that he had long studied your character, and that he esteemed your veracity."